To the question as to the means of abolishing power, the This spiritual weapon is simply the one long ago known to German, Max Stirner, and the American, Tucker, answer almost men, which has always destroyed power and always given those in the same way as the others. Both of them believe that if men who used it complete and inalienable freedom. This weapon is understood that the personal interest of each individual is a but this, a devout understanding of life, according to which man perfectly sufficient and legitimate guide for men's actions and regards his earthly existence as only a fragmentary manifestation that power only impedes the full manifestation of this leading of the complete life, and connecting his life with infinite life, and factor of human life, then power would perish of itself, both recognising his highest welfare in the fulfilment of the laws of owing to disobedience to it, and, above all, as Tucker says, to this infinite life, regards the fulfilment of these laws as more non-participation in it. Their answer to the second question is binding upon himself than the fulfilment of any human laws that men freed from the superstition and necessity of power and whatsoever. merely following their personal interests would, of themselves, Only such a religious conception, uniting all men in the same combine into forms of life most adequate and advantageous for understanding of life, incompatible with subordination to power each. and participation in it, can truly destroy power.

All these teachings are perfectly correct in this-that if power Only such a life-conception will give men the possibilityis to be abolished, this can be accomplished in nowise by force, without joining in violence-of combining into rational and just as power having abolished power will remain power; but that forms of life. this abolition of power can be accomplished only by the elucidation in the consciousness of men of the truth that power is Strange to say, only after men have been brought by life itself useless and harmful, and that men should neither obey it nor to the conviction that existing power is invincible, and in our participate in it. This truth is incontrovertible: power can be time cannot be overthrown by force, have they come to underabolished only by the rational consciousness of men. But in stand that ridiculously self-evident truth that power and all the what should this consciousness consist? The Anarchists believe evil produced by it are but results of bad life in men, and that that this consciousness can be founded upon considerations about therefore for the abolition of power and the evil it produces, good common welfare, justice, progress, or the personal interests of life on the part of men is necessary. men. But not to mention that all these factors are not in mutual agreement, the very definitions of what constitutes general wel-Men are beginning to understand this. And now they have fare, justice, progress, or personal interest are understood by further to understand that there is only one means for a good men in infinitely various ways. Therefore it is impossible to life amongst men: the profession and realization of a religious suppose that people who are not agreed amongst themselves and teaching natural and comprehensible to the majority of mankind. who differently understand the bases on which they oppose power, Only by means of professing and realizing such a religious could abolish power so firmly fixed and so ably defended. Moreteaching can men attain the ideal which has now arisen in their over, the supposition that considerations about general welfare, consciousness, and towards which they are striving. justice, or the law of progress can suffice to secure that men, freed from coercion, but having no motive for sacrificing their All other attempts at the abolition of power and at organizing, personal welfare to the general welfare, should combine in just without power, a good life amongst men is only a futile expendiconditions without violating their mutual liberty, is yet more ture of effort, and does not bring near the aim towards which unfounded. The Utilitarian, egotistical theory of Max Stirner men are striving, but only removes them from it.³ and Tucker, who affirm that by each following his own personal LEO TOLSTOY. interest just relations would be introduced between all, is not only arbitrary, but in complete contradiction to what in reality has taken place, and is taking place.

So that whilst correctly recognising spiritual weapons as the ²In Russian prisons the executioners are generally furnished from only means of abolishing power, the Anarchistic teaching, holding the ranks of the convicts themselves, no one else, as a rule, being an irreligious, materialistic, life conception does not possess this willing to fulfil that function.-Trans. spiritual weapon, and is confined to conjectures and fancies which ³See my article on Religion.—Author ('What is Religion?', the give the advocates of coercion the possibility of denying its true Free Age Press).—Trans. foundations, owing to the inefficiency of the suggested means of Reprinted from 'Reynolds News', August 1903. realizing this teaching.

I see mankind as a herd of cattle inside a fenced enclosure. Outside the fence are green pastures and plenty for the cattle to eat. While inside the fence there is not quite grass enough for the cattle. Consequently, the cattle are tramping underfoot what little grass there is and goring each other to death in their struggle for existence.

I saw the owner of the herd come to them, and when he saw their pitiable condition he was filled with compassion for them and thought of all he could do to improve their condition. So he called his friends together and asked them to assist him

in cutting grass from outside the fence and throwing it over the fence to the cattle. And that they called Charity.

Then, because the calves were dying off and not growing up into serviceable cattle, he arranged that they should each have a

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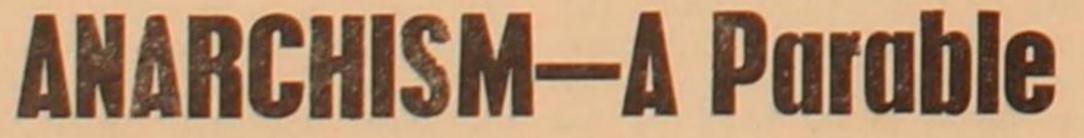
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¹Editor of the Free Age Press, Christchurch, Hants.



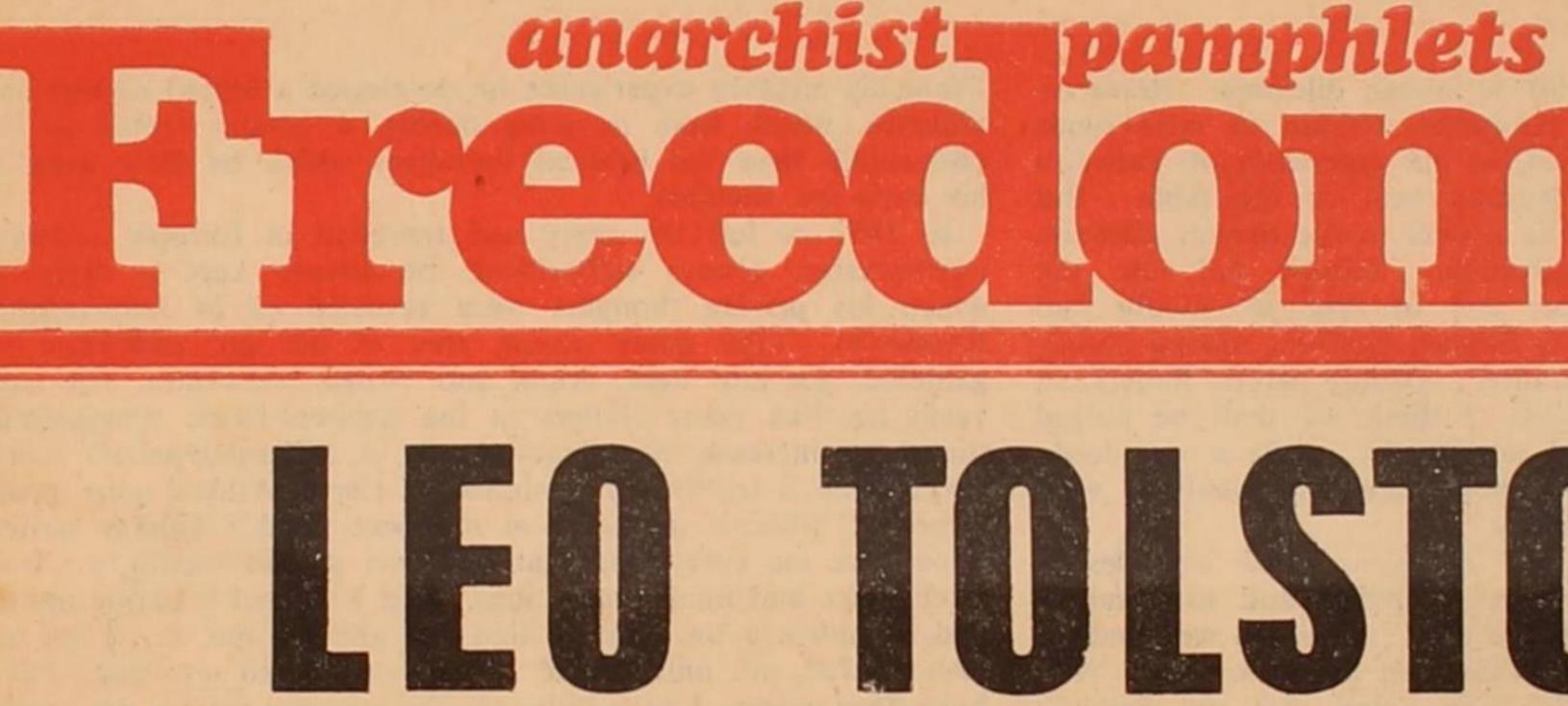
pint of milk every morning for breakfast.

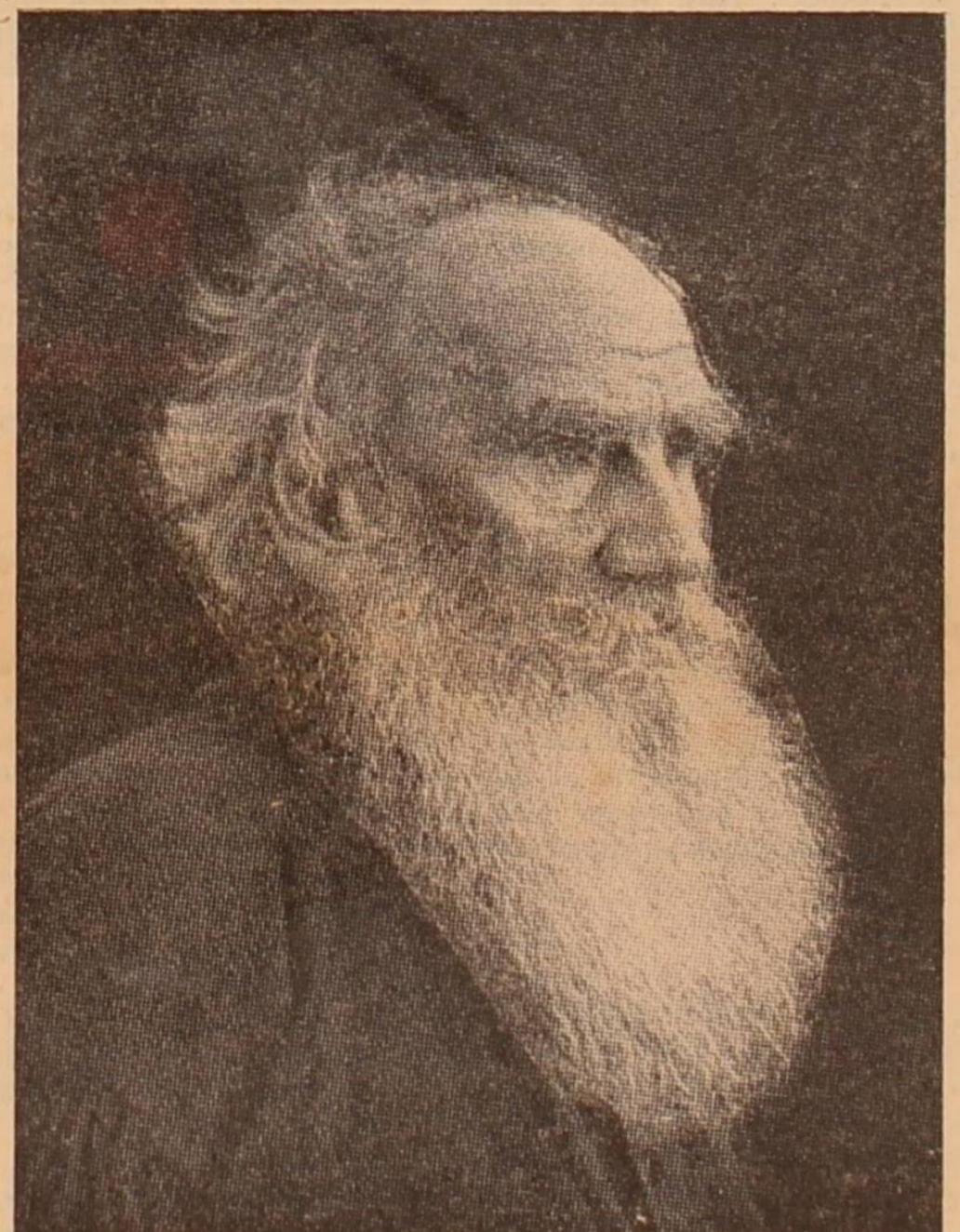
Because they were dying off in the cold nights, he put up beautiful, well-drained and well-ventilated cowsheds for the cattle. Because they were goring each other in the struggle for existence,

- he put corks on the horns of the cattle, so that the wounds they gave each other might not be so serious. Then he reserved a part of the enclosure for the old bulls and the old cows over 70 years of age.
- In fact, he did everything he could think of to improve the condition of the cattle, and when I asked him why he did not do the one obvious thing, break down the fence, and let the cattle out, he answered, 'If I let the cattle out, I should no longer be able to milk them.'

LEO TOLSTOY.

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idealistic, anomistic, spontanistic, indoministic and renitent "THE ANARCHISTS are right in everything; in the negation of anarchist, if that gets anybody anywhere. the existing order, and in the assertion that, without authority, there could not be worse violence than that of authority under THE QUESTIONS existing conditions.'

"But," it is usually asked, "what will there be instead of Tolstoy was a man who was always asking questions. When he was asking, analysing and probing he was interesting but when he thought he had found the answer to everything he was a bore. St. John Ervine, reviewing The Kreutzer Sonata in 1928 said, 'The Kreutzer Sonata was written in 1889 by These are two quotations taken practically at random from which time Tolstoy the artist had nearly surrendered to Tolstoy the moralist, and was taking less delight in creative work than he was in propaganda. The surrender was never complete; the artist amazingly survived, and, in the most unexpected manner, rose up and insisted on being seen and heard. . . . Had Tolstoy not been the great artist he was, but merely the moralizer he aspired to be, all his works would now be as dead as himself.' His two greatest novels War and Peace (1869) and Anna Karenina (1876) were shot through with questionings, Eltzbacher in his book Anarchism classifies Tolstoy as an

governments?" There will be nothing. Something that had long been useless and therefore superfluous and bad will be abolished. An organ that, being unnecessary had become harmful, will be abolished.' the works of one of the world's greatest writers. He is usually labelled a Christian anarchist but he was apt not only to reject the title 'anarchist' but also to reject in a theological sense the appellation 'Christian'. Indeed he was excommunicated by the Russian Orthodox Church so he had no legal right to the titlethat would not have worried him-indeed in one sense he could be said to have excommunicated the Russian Orthodox Church.



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NO. 6

heavily autobiographical and full of human dilemma. Resurrec- From his military experiences he developed a hatred of war and tion, written in 1900, was a pot-boiler (written to raise funds violence, which were to some degree, a greater factor in his for the Dukhobors); it magnified an old peccadillo of Tolstoy's philosophy than the biblical literalism which he later gave as into a vast slapping of the Russian soul on the table. But his basis for pacifism. ciency at billiards is a sign of misspent youth') Tolstoy writes: Throughout Tolstoy's work the questions recur as titles to 'God gave me everything that man can desire: wealth, a name, intelligence and noble aspirations. But I wanted to enjoy myself and trampled in the mud all that was good in me. . . . I am not intervals he experimented in peasant education, managed his estates and even for a while became a magistrate! But marriage (a) Why am I living? (b) What is the cause for my existence he considered his marriage as 'the most reckless act of his life'.

Tolstoy knew in Resurrection the answer to the human dilemma In 1857 he left the army and travelled in Europe. Always -it lay in expiation and salvation. Tolstoy fell into the introspective, always self-critical; he always kept a diary in literary trap of describing the 'evil of lust' so vividly and which his private thoughts were revealed (à la Jean-Jacques artistically that John Bellers (the English Quaker), among others, Rousseau). Like many young men of his age and class he reproached Tolstoy for immorality. Tolstoy wrote Bellers an gambled, got into debt, drank and visited prostitutes. In later apologetic letter which concludes, 'I think we shall be judged years he, like many sinners at the penitent-form, 'exaggerated by our consciences and by God, not for the results of our deeds, the sin to increase the salvation'. In A Billiard-Marker's Notes but for our intentions. And I hope that my intentions were (1852) (one is irresistibly reminded of Oscar Wilde's quip 'profinot bad. Yours truly, Leo Tolstoy.' essays, to 'sermons', to letters, to pamphlets and to parables. 'Why then, do we go on living like this?'; 'Why do we continue to do what we think wrong?'; 'What then Must we Do?'; 'Why dishonoured, not unfortunate, I have committed no crime; but I Do Men Stupify Themselves?'; 'Can Satan cast out Satan?'; have done worse-I have killed my feelings, my reason, my youth.' 'What is Religion?'; 'How Shall we Escape?'; 'How Much Land In 1862 he, as it seemed, happily married Sofa Behrs and settled Does a Man Need?'; 'What is Art?'. At one time Tolstoy codified down to the life of a country gentleman and a writer. In the the problems of life into six questions: and that of everyone else? (c) What purpose has my existence was only accepted by Tolstoy as a substitute for 'burning' and

or any other? (d) What does the division which I feel within What went on beneath the surface he revealed in Anna Karenina me into good and evil signify, and for what purpose is it there? (1876) where Levin is an autobiographical portrait of Tolstoy (e) How must I live? (f) What is death-how can I save myself? with his doubts and his self-questionings. He also asked himself (in The Slavery of our Times): 'Is it But before this he had taken five years (1864-1869) to write right that people should not have the use of land when it is War and Peace, his masterpiece. Despite his pre-occupations considered to belong to others who are not cultivating it? About and his steadily increasing family (Tolstoy, over the years, taxes it is said that people ought to pay them because they are fathered fourteen children despite his abhorrence of sex). instituted with the general, even though silent, consent of all; and are used for public needs to the advantage of all. Is this WORK AND LIFE true? Is it true that people should not use articles needful to He took up the idea of the 'labour-cure' from a book (in satisfy their requirements if those articles are the property of manuscript since it was banned by the censors) by Timothy other people?' Tolstoy's answer to these three questions is 'No' Bondareff, a Siberian peasant, who belonged to a sect called and Tolstoy concludes, 'As people formerly established laws 'Sabbath Men'. Bondareff's sect curiously enough, took their enabling some people to buy and sell other people, and to own teachings from the Old Testament, Tolstoy appeared mainly to them, and to make them work-and slavery existed; so now take his from the New Testament. Bondareff's ideas are sumpeople have established laws that men may not use land that is marized by the text 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread considered to belong to someone else, must pay the taxes detill thou return unto the ground: for out of it it wast thou taken'. manded of them, and must not use articles considered to be the Tolstoy in his pamphlet on Bondareff's teaching says: 'The property of others-and we have the slavery of our times.' Can teaching of Bondareff brings us back to this first indubitable such a man with such a belief be anything other than an anarchist?

BEGINNINGS

Leo Nikolaievitch Tolstoy was born at Yasnaya Polyana of end to that dreadful division of mankind into two classes which noble parentage in 1828. (This was seven years after the death hate each other, and by mutual advances will cover that hatred. of Napoleon and three years after the suppression of the 'Decem-"Bread-labour," says Bondareff, "will level all men, and will clip brists', the Russian revolutionary organization.) The fact that the wings of sensuality and luxury. It is impossible to plough Tolstoy, like many Russian radicals (including Herzen, Bakunin, or dig wells in fine clothes, and with clean hands, and whilst and Kropotkin), was a member of the land-owning aristocracy feeding upon delicate dishes. Their occupation in one sacred is often a cause for quiet sniggers among opponents of anarchism work common to all will bring men into union"." (as is also the case with Bakunin and Kropotkin). Kropotkin, This doctrine of work is echoed in Ruskin and Gandhi both I think it was, said the only occupations open to an aristocrat of whom were influenced by Tolstoy; and in turn Ruskin inwere either to be a soldier or a revolutionary. This was said fluenced Tolstoy. It has in it the strain of phoniness which the partly in jest; but the dilemma of someone with genuinely radical doctrine of 'going to the people' and proletarian consciousness opinions who has been born to, or inherited wealth or rank, is has always engendered in left-wing movements. Tolstoy, although always present. If he hangs on to what he has he is rebuked he dressed as a peasant for most of his life was still an upperfor failure to fulfil his revolutionary ideals. If he gives it away class landowner. Ruskin once said, 'Here I am trying to reform he is rebuked for being an idealistic philanthropist seeking to the world, and I suppose I ought to begin with myself. I am prop up the social system. If he gives it all up-supposing this trying to do St. Benedict's work, and I ought to be a saint. And were possible—he is rebuked for exhibitionism and not supporting yet I am living between a Turkey carpet and a Titian, and the movement with his financial help. In short he can't win, drinking as much tea as I can swig.' Tolstoy's realizations of and Tolstoy, the radical Count, was a born loser. the contradictions in his life were more frequent and more In 1843 Tolstoy left the University of Kazan without taking profuse but nevertheless he still lived in style. Even in his his degree, but fired with the ideas of Rousseau and other French pathetic last renunciation which led to his death he was

radical philosophers. He tried to ameliorate the lot of the serfs accompanied by a doctor-disciple. upon his estates by forming co-operatives which would counter the recurrent famines. Anticipating the liberation of the serfs RELIGIOUS WRITINGS in 1861, he freed the serfs upon his estates but was chagrined to From 1879-1882, Tolstoy was engaged on his series of religious find that they were not grateful for what he had done for them. books starting with A Confession, followed by Criticism of Only in later life did he formulate this experience in the words, Dogmatic Theology, Union and Translation of the Four Gospels 'The rich will do anything for the poor except get off their backs.' and What I Believe. Sonya, Tolstoy's wife wrote to her sister In 1852, in what seemed almost an attempt to relieve boredom, in 1879, 'Leo is still working, as he calls it but alas! all he is he joined the army as an artillery officer in the Caucasus. producing are philosophical disquisitions! He reads and thinks Whilst in the army he developed his talent for writing with until it gives him headache. And all in order to prove that the descriptions of Army life in The Cossacks (1852), The Invaders Church does not accord with the gospels. There are not ten Prisoner in the Caucasus (1862), The Raid and Sebastapol Sketches. people in Russia who can be interested in such a subject. But Most of these sketches of military life were printed in Russian there's nothing to be done. My only hope is that he will soon magazines and created for Tolstoy a great literary reputation. get over it, and it will pass, like a disease.' Turgenev on his

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duty in the sphere of practical activity. He proves that the performance of this duty [i.e. labour] hinders nothing, presents no obstacles, and withal saves men from the calamities of want and vice. The performance of this duty, to begin with, puts an

deathbed wrote to Tolstoy, 'My friend, return to literature! Tolstoy believed that the whole world should share his ideas That gift came to you from the same source as all the rest.' without charge. In fact, many of Tolstoy's works published in These religious works of Tolstoy were banned in Russia being England by the Free Age Press bear the heartening note 'No hostile to the State Orthodox Church. Manuscript copies were Rights Reserved'. However his wife, who had not only the circulated. When What I Believe was published in 1884 it was thankless task of managing Tolstoy's home and children but limited to thirty copies (which could be done without authorization copied (in long-hand) all of Tolstoy's works from his muchfrom the censor) but even so, the police seized the copies. Two corrected manuscripts, thought she had a right to insist that the of the books were published in Russian abroad and smuggled marketing of his works should financially benefit herself, the into Russia. After What I Believe was seized Sonya said, children, and inevitably, Tolstoy. She drove a hard bargain and 'I hope after this he will calm down and write nothing more in many cases she published and distributed many of the books in this vein.' However, Tolstoy was by then writing What Then herself in order to maximise the profits. Must We Do?

WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?

Of course, many of Tolstoy's works were banned in Russia but Tolstoyans and erstwhile Tolstoyans (like Aylmer Maude) In What Then Must We Do? (according to Derrick Leon in Tolstoy: His Life and Work), 'Tolstoy has given a significant saw to their publication abroad. Many of these were published and moving account of his own reactions and experiences while 'no rights reserved' by the Free Age Press. Sonya Tolstoy trying to solve the problem [of poverty] followed by a devastating relented in the case of Resurrection, the royalties on which helped attack on the organization of a social order that makes such the Dukhobors (a persecuted anti-militarist religious sect) to things possible, and concluding with his new religio-sociological emigrate to Canada where, as George Woodcock says, 'unfortunideas for improving the situation. In this work he writes, "Where ately, their persecution was soon resumed'. Tolstoy's wife was always ready to help him with his practical the violent coercion of one man by another exists in a society, the significance of money as a medium for the exchange of the projects and in 1891 and 1892 helped with soup-kitchens in the products of toil gives way to its significance as the most con- famine. At one point the Tolstoy family had opened thirty venient means of exploiting the labour of others" and, later, "Every kitchens supplying free food to fifteen hundred people per day. Not content with such charity Tolstoy pointed out in a newsenslavement of one man by another is based entirely on the fact that one man can compel the others to obey his will. . . . If a paper article that the poor were starving because the rich were man gives his whole work to others, gets insufficient nourish- well-fed. This was censored in Russia but printed abroad. ment, hands his little children over to hard labour, leaves the Distorted extracts were inserted in a reactionary Russian newsland and devotes his whole life to hateful labour on things he paper and the Minister of the Interior investigated the matter. himself does not want—as occurs before our eyes in the world Tolstoy's wife, who had connections in St. Petersburg, fought (which we call cultured only because we live in it) it is safe back through official channels. She persuaded Tolstoy to write to say that he does it only because he is threatened with death a letter disclaiming the distorted article on the famine but it was refused publication in an official journal, however Sonya dupliif he does not".' Leon's summary of Tolstoy goes on, 'Where violence is cated it and distributed it by hundreds in Russia and abroad.

According to Henri Troyat, in his life of Tolstoy, Tolstoy's legalized, there slavery exists; and to the masses it makes but aunt spoke to the Tsar and said, 'Sire, they are preparing to ask little difference whether the violence is imposed by an invading you to imprison the greatest genius in Russia in a monastery." enemy, legal slave ownership, or a government department collect-'Tolstoy?' asked the Tsar. 'Yes, sire.' 'Would he be plotting an ing taxes by civil machinery supported by the intervention of attempt on my life?' said the Tsar with a smile. Later the Tsar police or soldiery when their demands are refused.' said to the Minister of the Interior, 'I will ask you not to touch Tolstoy further says that property means 'the products of human Tolstoy. I have no desire to make a martyr of him and provoke labour pass more and more out of the hands of the labouring masses into the hands of the unlabouring'. . . . 'Money is a a general uprising. If he is guilty, so much the worse for him.'

new form of slavery, distinguished from the old solely by its impersonality, by the lack of any human relation between the master and the slave.' . . . 'The essence of slavery consists in drawing the benefits of another's labour-force by compulsion, and it is quite immaterial whether the drawing of this benefit is founded upon property in the slave or upon property in money which is indispensable to the other man.'

Eltzbacher summarizes Tolstoy's teachings as 'One is to return good for evil, give to one's neighbour all that one has that is superfluous and take away from him nothing that one does not need, especially acquire no money, and get rid of the money one has, not buy or rent, and, without shrinking from any form of work, satisfy one's needs with one's own hands; and particularly does it mean that one is to refuse obedience to the un-Christian demands of State authority'. Much of this teaching is to be found in What Then Must We Do?

LIFE AND MARRIAGE

The difficulties of reconciling precept with practice always Discussing Tolstoy and leaving out 'God' is like Hamlet without haunted Tolstoy-as it does many of us-and made for irreconcilable quarrels with his more practical, more worldly-wise wife. the prince (except that Tolstoy in his wrongheadedness would He too realized her viewpoint and additionally he found great have preferred Hamlet that way). Gorky, a friend of Tolstoy's difficulties in the sexual question. In the Kreutzer Sonata (1889) . became less friendly as Gorky became more Marxist and in 1900 he made the almost Reichian statement which should be blazoned Gorky wrote to Chekhov: 'Leo Tolstoy does not love men; no, on the banners of Women's Liberation: 'The emancipation of he does not love them. The truth is that he judges them, cruelly woman lies not in colleges and not in parliaments, but in the and too severely. I do not like his idea of God. Is that a God? It is part of Count Leo Tolstoy and not God, this God without bedroom'. Tolstoy, like most would-be saints; despite those fourteen whom men cannot live. He says he is an anarchist. To some children, had yearnings after chastity. In his afterword to the extent, yes. But although he destroys some regulations, he dic-Kreutzer Sonata he wrote, 'Chastity is not a rule or a precept, tates others in their place, no less harsh and burdensome for men. but an ideal, or rather one of the conditions of the ideal. And That is not anarchism, it is the authoritarianism of a provincial an ideal is only really an ideal when its attainment is possible governor.'

only as an idea, when it appears attainable only in infinity, and In 1893 The Kingdom of God was, naturally, prohibited by when, therefore, the possibility of approaching it is infinite. If the censor, but duplicated copies were soon in circulation and the ideal were attained, or even if we could picture it to ourselves the book was translated for publication abroad. In this book he castigates the church as hostile to the teachings of Christ. as attained, it would cease to be an ideal.' One of Tolstoy's further difficulties with his wife was as to 'The churches as such, as associations that assert their infallibility, the marketing of his literary works. At his most idealistic are anti-Christian institutions. The Christian churches and

THE DUKHOBORS AND THE FAMINE

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

In 1893 Tolstoy completed The Kingdom of God is Within You, which is the clearest statement of Tolstoy's Christian 'anarchist' non-resistant position. Tolstoy thought that anarchism specifically involved a commitment to violence; therefore he rejected it. At the same time anarchists as materialists and anti-authoritarians have largely rejected religion. Tolstoy, in a sub-title to The Kingdom explained his religious idea as 'Christianity, not as a mystical doctrine but as a new life-conception'.

The definition of anarchism as 'materialist' is not an absolute, for anarchism itself could be defined as a religion; that is, a belief in that which cannot be scientifically proved; and, at the same time, there is in the anarchist doctrine something of a pantheism, of an unsubstantiated belief in the brotherhood of man. We can like Laplace, reject concepts of religion, or for that matter Tolstoy's religion, as 'an unnecessary hypothesis'. At his best Tolstoy is doing the right things for the wrong reason, at his worst his activities are harmless.

NON-RESISTANCE

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Tolstoy admired Dickens but disapproved of Shakespeare, This doctrine did not originate with Tolstoy, he was influenced Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé, Maeterlinck. He approved of by Adin Ballou's book on Christian Non-Resistance (1846) and Sully Prudhomme (who had gained a Nobel prize when Tolstoy by William Lloyd Garrison, the champion of American anti- was nominated) and Leconte de Lisle. He disapproved of Monet, slavery, in his book entitled Non-resistance. (They in their turn Manet, Renoir, Sisley, even Pissarro-that anarchist! He dishad been influenced by the doctrines of the Quakers (Society approved of Beethoven, Schumann, Berlioz, Lizt and Wagner of Friends).) It is important to realize that Tolstoy's doctrine and Tanayev-Sonya's pianist. The great controversy roused differs widely from the doctrine of non-violent resistance. Indeed, by What is Art? brought fierce controversy around the head in its rejection of resistance it may be thought to be a philosophy of Tolstoy. This was to be the last of Tolstoy's religioof despair of 'humility, penitence and submissiveness'. In 1897 philosophical works. There is a great deal of nonsense in on this subject, Tolstoy wrote in his diary: 'Non-resistance to this religious yardstick applied to art and George Orwell in an evil is important because it is a means by which man develops essay Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool rightly takes Tolstoy to task in love. But it is even more important because, by absorbing it, for a further instalment of this nonsense in his essay on neutralising it, stopping its movement, it is the sole remedy Shakespeare. In a curious way one finds in a quotation from against evil, which like a rubber ball thrown against a wall, can What is Art? a paragraph which may have come from Eric Gill, only continue when confronted by resistance, and requires a another Christian crypto-anarchist, 'We are accustomed to undermedium that will absorb its elasticity. Active Christianity con- stand art to be only what we hear and see in theatres, concerts, sists, not in creating something new. But in absorbing evil.' and exhibitions; together with buildings, statues, poems, novels. Whether Tolstoy would have approved of his disciple Gandhi's . . But all this is but the smallest part of the art by which adaptation of his ideas into satygraha and non-violent resistance we communicate with each other in life. All human life is with its numerous interpreters and practitioners is doubtful. One filled with works of art of every kind-from cradle-song, jest, is quite certain however that Tolstoy would have recognized in mimicry, the ornamentation of houses, dress, and utensils, up the world today the failures of the policies of non-resistant to church services, buildings, monuments, and triumphal proviolence. In 1887 Tolstoy said to George Kennan (who had just cessions. It is all artistic activity.' It was a similar idea (sumvisited exiled revolutionaries in Siberia), 'The revolutionaries marized by Cocmaswamary as 'An artist is not a special kind whom you have seen in Siberia undertook to resist evil by of man, but every man is a special kind of artist') that is violence and what has been the result? Bitterness, misery, hatred embodied in Herbert Read's To Hell with Culture. Again we and bloodshed. The evils against which they took up arms still find Tolstoy saying the right thing for the wrong reason. exists, and to them has been added a mass of previously non-'RESURRECTION' existent human suffering. It is not in this way that the Kingdom of God is to be realized on earth. The whole history of the Having laid down these principles of art, Tolstoy proceeded to produce a novel Resurrection (1900)-begun in 1895-which was sold to help (by means of royalties) the Dukhobors to emigrate to Canada. Not only was this censored by the czarist authorities but it was banned in England by Mudie's and W. H. Smith's circulating libraries; however the book became such a success when a dramatic version was produced that Messrs. Mudie and W. H. Smith bowed to public opinion and purse. Nekhlyudov, the hero of the book is again a self-portrait of Tolstoy, a land-owner influenced by the ideas of Henry George.

Troyat, in his Tolstoy biography, points out the flaw in Henry Whether indeed non-resistance or non-violent resistance are George's scheme which, like all schemes of monetary reform, 'in order to carry out such a redistribution it would first be necessary to change the government, or in other words, to make a radical and presumably bloody political reform'. Eventually Nekhlyudov fulfils Tolstoy's dream, gives up his money and attachments and sets out for Siberia with the girl he wronged. Tolstoy was rather ashamed of the success of this novel and he wrote, in slight contradiction of his What is Art? theories, Master and Man was Tolstoy's next creation, in 1895. This 'I suppose that, just as nature has endowed certain men with a sexual instinct for the reproduction of the species, she has endowed others with an artistic instinct, which seems to be equally absurd and equally imperious. . . . I see no other explanation for the fact that an old man of seventy who is not utterly stupid should devote himself to an occupation as futile as writing novels."

world is the history of violence; and of course you can cite violence in support of human violence; but surely you must see that in human society there is an endless variety of opinions as to what constitutes wrong and oppression, and that if you once concede the right of any man to resort to violence to resist what he regards as wrong, he being the judge, you authorize every other man to enforce his opinions in the same way, and inevitably you have a universal reign of violence.' This would certainly have been Tolstoy's judgment on the Russian revolution and on events nearer our own day. instruments of social change, whether they are tactically efficient or strategically commendable are debatable points but one thing is certain, the need to break out of the vicious circle of violence and hatred, and Tolstoy showed a way to do this. MASTER AND MAN caused a great quarrel between Tolstoy and Sonya as to whom should handle the publication. Sonya hysterically ran out into the snow on two occasions-she wished to die of exposure like the character in Master and Man. Eventually she got her own way and Master and Man appeared in the magazine of her choice. To the deteriorating relationship was added further tragedy when their son, Ivan, died of scarlet fever,

After Resurrection Tolstoy wrote several short occasional Master and Man, the tale of the adventures of a rich man pieces and pamphlets including the two very important 'anarchist' and a poor man caught in a blizzard and compelled by their contributions: The Slavery of our Times; Patriotism and Governimpending death to discover their equality and dependence, was ment; and Thou Shalt Not Kill (written on the assassination of a great success. Tolstoy said sourly, 'Since I hear no criticism, King Humbert by the anarchist Bresci). only compliments about Master and Man, I am reminded of the anecdote of the preacher who, surprised by a storm of applause **THOU SHALT NOT KILL'** at the end of one of his sentences, stopped short and asked, "Have In Thou Shalt Not Kill Tolstoy wrote, 'When Kings are tried and executed like Charles I, Louis XVI and Maximilian

I said something wrong?" My story is no good. I should like to write an anonymous review of it.' of Mexico; or killed in a palace conspiracy like Peter III, Paul, WHAT IS ART? and all kinds of Sultans, Shahs and Khans, the event is generally passed over in silence. But when one of them is killed without In the summer of 1895 Chertkov, one of Tolstoy's disciples wrote, Tolstoy has learned to ride a bicycle. Is this not a trial, and not by a palace conspiracy; like Henry IV, inconsistent with Christian ideals?' Tolstoy did not think so. Alexander II, Carnot, the Empress of Austria, the Shah of Persia, He had at various times given up meat-eating and hunting; had and, recently, King Humbert, then such murder causes great denounced smoking; disapproved of the cinematograph, approved surprise and indignation among Kings and Emperors, and those

Christianity have no fellowship except in name; nay, the two of chastity in quest of Christian perfection. After Sonya's rather are utterly opposite and hostile elements. The churches are pathetic affaire with a pianist, Tolstoy built up his hatred of arrogance, violence, usurpation, rigidity, death. Christianity is 'works of art' into a Christian doctrine. His ever-latent Puritanism humility, penitence, submissiveness, progress, life.' Tolstoy found came forth and, fortified by an earlier discovery that his peasants the core of Christian teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and didn't like Chopin, he built up a theory of art that one must contended that by its alliance with the State, the church had not only be technically skilful, but have a worthy subject and become the chief obstacle to human happiness on earth (Troyat). a moral point of view. If Tolstoy contributed anything to the Based upon this, Tolstoy formulated his doctrine of non-resistance. Bolshevik Revolution it was this foreshadowing of the theory of Social Realism.

attached to them, as if they were the great enemies of murder, although the Tsar's censors unfailingly struck out all in Tolstoy as if they never profited by murder, never took part in it, and which they thought seditious, even his censored works spoke out never gave any orders to commit it. And yet the kindest of for what dare not be uttered aloud. Meanwhile his manuscripts these murdered Kings, such as Alexander II or Humbert, were circulated underground in Russia and-from their very originguilty of the murder of tens of thousands of persons killed assumed more importance than his published works. It can be on the battlefield, not to mention those executed at home; claimed that Tolstoy's works had more circulation in Tsarist while hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of people have Russia where they were banned than in Soviet Russia where been killed, hanged, beaten to death, or shot, by the more lip-service is paid to Tolstoy as a forerunner of the revolution. cruel Kings and Emperors.' Tolstoy goes on to deny the right UNHAPPY FAMILIES of people to be indignant about the killing of Kings, Emperors and Presidents, since, says Tolstoy, the statistics for Kings, Ironically enough it was Tolstoy's insistence on writing religioetc., is about one in about a hundred thousand or perhaps political works that for the most part had preserved quarrels a million ordinary people killed by the order, or with the from breaking out openly over royalties and money matters consent of Kings and Emperors. Tolstoy however denies the between he and his wife. Works which were banned by the usefulness of such an act since the state is hydra-headed, that Tsar's censor could not earn any money in Russia but eventually is, a new one grows after one is cut off. He concludes that long, bitter and complicated quarrels over property, copyright 'therefore we can help to prevent people killing Kings and each and inheritance ensued, up to Tolstoy's death in flight from his other, not by murder-murders only strengthen the hypnotic wife in 1910. His 'disciples' who had gathered around him, like state—but by arousing men from the delusion in which they wasps round honey, added to the Dostoievskian-Chekhovian madare held'. house at Yasnaya Polyana.

To detail all these quarrels would only be to recount the effects 'THE SLAVERY OF OUR TIMES' of property, of marriage and of the possessive family and The Slavery of our Times was reprinted by the Porcupine Press acquisitive society on the most sainthood-aspiring man and a in 1948 as one of a series of anarchist and radical pamphlets worthy, family-solicitous and undoubtedly neurotic woman. To with an introduction by George Woodcock. 'It,' according to say that Tolstoy was a hypocrite in the compromises he became George Woodcock, 'summarises his views from a social rather involved in, is to say nothing. Since it is because mankind is than a religious standpoint and sets out, by a consideration of faced daily with these compromises that society and life must the evils of existing society, to build a concise but formidable be reformed. We cannot live in society without compromise, indictment of property, law, government and the slavery they this is what makes Tolstoy's efforts at sainthood so disturbing and produce. It criticizes orthodox Socialism, and puts forward an his failure so grievous and apparent. But that we cannot live alternative ideal of radical change through the responsible action as we wish makes it ever more necessary to change our lives and of individuals, based on the rejection alike of authority and the social system and people like Tolstoy have shown us ways violence.' One conclusion arrived at by Tolstoy is . . . 'all the and means of doing this. His glorious failure is more an practical and theoretical repeals of certain laws maintaining inspiration than the squalid success of many others. slavery in one form, have always, and do always replace it by **TOLSTOY'S ANARCHISM** new legislation creating slavery in another and a fresh form'. He defines legislation thus: 'Laws are rules, made by people who We are left with the final question: Was Tolstoy an anarchist? govern by means of organized violence, for non-compliance with According to some standards, for example those of anti-religion which the non-complier is subjected to blows, to loss of liberty, and even those of lack of personal authoritarianism, Tolstoy or even to being murdered.'

EXCOMMUNICATING THE CHURCH

In February 1901 the Russian Holy Synod thundered forth, litmus-paper-like test for defining anarchists but to institute 'God has permitted a new false prophet to appear in our midst these tests we should be embroiled in heresy hunts and breasttoday, Count Leo Tolstoy. A world-famous author, Russian by baring comparable to the Soviet trials of the thirties, the birth, Orthodox by baptism and education. Count Tolstoy, led Inquisition, and Tolstoy's private diaries. astray by pride, has boldly and insolently dared to oppose God, Ignoring the simpliste doctrines, that every one is an anarchist Christ and his holy heirs' . . . and so on, concluding, 'Therefore who calls himself one, or every anarchist is his own kind of the Church no longer recognizes him among her children and anarchism, both doctrines which have some merit, we can accept cannot do so until he has repented and restored himself to the idea of Sébastian Faure (quoted by George Woodcock in communion with her.' By this time Tolstoy was 73, he had by his prologue to Anarchism), 'Whoever denies authority and now excluded the Russian Orthodox Church from consideration fights against it is an anarchist.' Tolstoy opposed Tsar, Church as a Christian institution and was, at his age, so far hardened and State and fought against them. That he accepted the in heresy he was unlikely to rejoin the Church. The Soviet 'authority' of religious teachings in the Bible may be quoted State (which makes great play of the Tolstoy cult) was sooner against him, but in order to make those doctrines square with enabled to repent and restore itself to communion with the what he thought, he issued his own translation of the Gospels Orthodox Church for propaganda and military purposes. The -which proved Leo Tolstoy to be right and all previous day Tolstoy's excommunication was published he was cheered translations wrong. by crowds in the street and deluged with telegrams and letters That he fought non-violently or, as he thought 'non-resisted' of congratulation. In a letter to the Synod Tolstoy said, among (even the existence of Tolstoy was resistance), does not negate other things, 'I believe He is in me as I am in Him' (capitals his fight; many think it made it all the more effective. It is as in the original). true to say that the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and the struggle for the freedom of India owe much to Tolstoy's 'HADJI MURAD' teachings. It is too bad that the lessons of Tolstoy were only half-learned and the debt to Tolstoy was never paid.

After a serious illness and convalescence in the Crimea where Chekhov and Gorky visited him, Tolstoy returned to his family home at Yasnaya Polyana in 1902. He wrote Hadji Murad; again he knew that this work would never pass the censor for its comments upon Nicholas I and Russia's treatment of Caucasian tribes, he put it away in 1904 and it was not published until 1912, Works consulted: two years after Tolstoy's death.

In 1903 he wrote in his diary: 'I am living in luxury and Tolstoy: His Life and Work. Derrick Leon. Routledge 1944. physical inactivity. And I therefore suffer continually from Anarchism. Paul Eltzbacher. Freedom Press 1960 (out of print). remorse. But I comfort myself with the thought that I am On Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence. Signet Paperback living on good terms with all my family and writing pages which (USA) 1967. I think are important.'

And works of Tolstoy, too numerous to mention, mainly He not only wrote Hadji Murad but a play entitled The Living consulted from Freedom Press Library, in Free Age Press, Walter Corpse, articles, short stories and had extensive correspondence Scott and Vanguard Press editions (all now out of print). with prominent people. By this time Tolstoy had become what Many titles in non-fiction still available in World's Classics we should today call a publicist and his views were solicited and publicized upon almost all over the world-even in Russia. For editions and fiction titles available in Everyman.-J.R.

can be disqualified even though he complies with Eltzbacher's highly complex and echt-Deutsch classification. This grants, as Eltzbacher and others seem to assume, that there is an elaborate

JACK ROBINSON.

Tolstoy. Henry Troyat. Penguin.

Address to the Working Class

TRANSLATED BY V. TCHERTKOFF1 AND I. F. M.

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Thus it has been from ancient times, and still continues to be. But those who were compelled by force to submit to 'The most fatal error that ever happened in the world was the certain regulations did not always regard these regulations as separation of political and ethical science.'-SHELLEY. the best, and, therefore, often revolted against those in power, deposed them, and, in place of the old order, established a IN MY 'Appeal to the Working People' I expressed the opinion new one, which, according to their opinion, better ensured the that if the working men are to free themselves from oppression welfare of the people. But as those possessed of power always it is necessary that they should themselves cease to live as they became depraved by this possession, and therefore used their now live, struggling with their neighbours for their personal power not so much for the common welfare as for their own welfare, and that, according to the Gospel rule, they should personal interests, therefore the new power has always been 'act to others as one desires that others should act towards similar to the old one, and often still more unjust. oneself'.

Thus it has been when those who revolted against existing The method I had suggested called forth, as I expected, one authority overcame it. On the other hand, when victory remained and the same condemnation from people of the most opposite on the side of the existing power, then the latter, triumphant views. in self-protection, always increased the means of its defence, and 'It is an Utopia, unpractical. To wait for the liberation of became yet more injurious to the liberty of its citizens.

men who are suffering from oppression and violence until they all become virtuous would mean-whilst recognising the existing

Thus it has always been both in the past and the present, and evil-to doom oneself to inaction.' there is special instructiveness in the way this has taken place in our European world during the whole of the nineteenth Therefore I would like to say a few words as to why I century. In the first half of this century, revolutions had been believe this idea is not so unpractical as it appears, but, on for the most part successful, but the new authorities which the contrary, deserves that more attention be directed to it replaced the old ones, Napoleon I, Charles X, Napoleon III, did than to all the other methods proposed by scientific men for not increase the liberty of the citizens. In the second half, after the improvement of the social order. I would like to say the year 1848, all attempts at revolution were suppressed by these words to those who sincerely-not in words, but in deed the Governments, and owing to former revolutions and attempted -desire to serve their neighbours. It is to such people that new ones, the Governments entrenched themselves in greater I now address myself. and greater self-defence, and thanks to the technical inventions of the last century, which have furnished men with hitherto unknown powers over nature and over each other-they have increased their authority, and towards the end of last century The ideals of social life which direct the activity of men have developed it to such a degree that it has become impossible not only seized enormous riches collected from the people, also grasped all the spiritual means of influencing the masses,

change, and together with them the order of human life also for the peoples to struggle against it. The Governments have changes. There was a time when the ideal of social life was complete animal freedom, according to which one portion have not only disciplined artfully levied troops, but have of mankind, as far as they were able, devoured the other, both in the direct and in the figurative sense. Then came the direction of the Press, and of religious development, and a time when the social ideal became the power of one man, above all of education. These means have been so organized, and men deified their rulers, and not only willingly, but and have become so powerful that since the year 1848 there has not enthusiastically submitted to them-Egypt, Rome: 'moritury been any successful attempt at revolution in Europe. te salutante'. Next people recognised as their ideal an organization of life, in which power was recognised, not for its own sake, but for the good organization of men's lives. Attempts for the realization of such an ideal were at one time a universal monarchy, then a universal church, uniting various States and This phenomenon is quite new and is absolutely peculiar to directing them, then came forth the ideal of representation, our time. However powerful were Nero, Khengiz-Khan, or then of a Republic, with or without universal suffrage. At Charles the Great, they could not suppress risings on the borders the present time it is regarded that this ideal can be realized, of their domains and still less could they direct the spiritual through an economical organization wherein all the instruments activity of their subjects, their education, scientific and moral, of Labour will cease to be private property, and will become and their religious tendencies. Whereas now all these means the property of the whole nation. are in the hands of the Governments.

However different be all these ideals, yet to introduce them into It is not only the Parisian 'macadam' which, having replaced life, power was always postulated—that is, coercive power, which the previous stone roadways, renders barricades impossible during forces men to obey established laws. The same is postulated revolutions in Paris, but the same kind of 'macadam' during now also. the latter half of the nineteenth century appeared in all the branches of State Government. The secret police, the system It is supposed that the realization of the greatest welfare of spies, bribery of the Press, railways, telegraphs, telephones, photography, prisons, fortifications, enormous riches, the education of the younger generations, and, above all, the army, are in the hands of the Government.

for all is attained by certain people (according to the Chinese teaching, the most virtuous; according to the European teaching, the anointed, or elected by the people), who, being entrusted with power, will establish and support the organization, by which will be attained the greatest possible security of the citizens All is organized in such a way that the most incapable and against mutual encroachments on each other's labour and of unintelligent rulers (from the instinctive feeling of self-preservation) freedom and life. Not only those who recognise the existing can prevent serious preparations for a rising, and can always, State organization as a necessary condition of human life, but without any effort, suppress those weak attempts at open revolt also Revolutionists and Socialists, though they regard the existing which from time to time are yet undertaken by belated revo-State organization as subject to alteration, nevertheless recognise lutionists who by these attempts only increase the powers of power-that is, the right and possibility of some to compel Governments.

others to obey established laws 'as the necessary condition of social order.

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The only means at present for overcoming Governments lies trousers of the executioner, which distinguish him from other in this: that the army, composed of the people, having recognised convicts because he takes upon himself the most immoral and the injustice, cruelty, and injury of the Government towards infamous work-that of executing people.2 themselves should cease to support it. But in this respect Power, being conscious of this attitude towards itself conalso, the Governments knowing that their chief power is in tinually growing amongst the people, in our days no longer leans the army have so organized its mobilization and its discipline upon the higher foundations of anointed right, popular election, that no propaganda amongst the people can snatch the army or inborn virtue of the rulers, but rests solely upon coercion. out of the hands of the Government. No man, whatever his Resting thus merely on coercion, therefore it still more loses the confidence of the people. And losing this confidence it is more political convictions, who is serving in the army, and has been subjected to that hypnotic breaking-in which is called discipline, and more compelled to have recourse to the seizure of all the can, whilst in the ranks, avoid obeying commands, just as activities of national life, and owing to this seizure it inspires an eye cannot avoid winking when a blow is aimed at it. greater and greater dissatisfaction. Boys of the age of twenty who are enlisted and educated in the false ecclesiastic or materialistic and moreover 'patriotic' IV spirit, cannot refuse to serve, as children who are sent to school cannot refuse to obey. Having entered the service, Power has become invincible, and rests no longer on the higher these youths, whatever their convictions-thanks to artful discinational foundations of anointed right, of election, or representapline, elaborated during centuries-are inevitably transformed tion, but on violence alone. At the same time the people cease in one year into submissive tools in the hands of the authorities. to believe in power and respect it, and submit to it only because If rare cases occur-one out of 10,000-of refusals of military they cannot do otherwise. service, this is accomplished only by so-called 'sectarians' who Precisely since the middle of the last century, from the very act thus out of religious convictions unrecognised by the Governments. Therefore, at present, in the European world time when power had simultaneously become invincible and lost its prestige, there begins to appear amongst the people the teaching -if only the Governments desire to retain their power, and that liberty-not that fantastical liberty which is preached by the they cannot but desire this, because the abolition of power adherents of coercion when they affirm that a man who is comwould involve the downfall of the rulers-no serious rising pelled, under fear of punishment, to fulfil the orders of other men, can be organized, and if anything of the kind be organized is free, but that only true liberty, which consists in every it will always be suppressed and will have not other conman being able to live and act according to his own judgmentsequences but the destruction of many light-minded individuals and the increase of Governmental power. This may not be to pay or not to pay taxes, to enter or not to enter the military seen by Revolutionaries and Socialists who, following out-lived service, to be friendly or inimical to neighbouring nations-that traditions, are carried away by strife, which for some has such true liberty is incompatible with the power of certain men become a definite profession; but this cannot fail to be recognised over others. by all those who freely consider historical events.

According to this teaching power is not, as was formerly thought, something divine and majestic, neither is it an indispens-This phenomenon is quite new, and therefore the activity of able condition of social life, but is merely the result of the coarse those who desire to alter the existing order should conform violence of some men over others. Be the power in the hands with this new position of existing powers in the European of Louis XVI, or of the Committee of National Defence, or the world. Directory, or the Consulate, or Napoleon, or Louis XVIII, or the Sultan, the President, the chief Mandarin, or the first Ministerwheresoever it be, there will exist the power of certain men over The struggle which has lasted during long ages between the others, and there will not be freedom, but there will be the oppression of one portion of mankind by another. Therefore

State and the people at first produced the substitution of one power for another, of this one by yet a third, and so on. But power must be abolished. in our European world from the middle of last century the power of the existing Governments, thanks to the technical But how to abolish it, and how, when it is abolished, to arrange improvements of our time, has been furnished with such means things so that without the existence of power men-should not of defence that strife with it has become impossible. In return to the savage state of coarse violence towards each other? proportion as this power has attained greater and greater degree it has demonstrated more and more its inconsistency: there All Anarchists—as the preachers of this teaching are called became ever more evident that inner contradiction which quite uniformly answer the first question by recognising that if consists in combination of the idea of a beneficent power and that power is to be really abolished it must be abolished not by of violence, which constitutes the essence of all power. It became force but by men's consciousness of its uselessness and evil. To obvious that power, which, to be beneficent, should be in the the second question, as to how Society should be organized withhands of the very best men, was always in the hands of the out power, Anarchists answer variously. worst, as the best men, owing to the very nature of power-The Englishman Godwin, who lived at the end of the eighteenth consisting in the use of violence towards one's neighbour and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and the Frenchman, -could not desire power, and, therefore, never obtained or Proudhon, who wrote in the middle of the last century, answers retained it.

This contradiction is so self-evident that it would seem consciousness of men is sufficient, that the general welfare everyone must have always seen it. Yet such are the pompous (Godwin) and justice (Proudhon) are transgressed by power, surroundings of power, the fear which it inspires and the inertia and that if the conviction were disseminated amongst the people of tradition, that centuries and, indeed, thousands of years that general welfare and justice can be realized only in the passed before men understood their error. Only in latter days absence of power, then power would of itself disappear. have men begun to understand that—notwithstanding the solemnity with which power always drapes itself-its essence consists As to the second question, by what means will the order of a in threatening people with the loss of property, liberty, life, new Society be ensured without power, both Godwin and Proudand in realizing these threats, and that, therefore, those who, hon answer that people who are led by the consciousness of like Kings, Emperors, Ministers, Judges, and others devote their general welfare (according to Godwin) and of justice (according life to this activity without any other object except the desire to Proudhon) will instinctively find the most universally rational to retain their advantageous position-not only are not the and just forms of life. best, but are always the worst men, and being such, cannot Whereas other Anarchists, such as Bakounine and Kropotkin, by their power contribute to the welfare of humanity, but, on although they also recognise the consciousness in the masses of the the contrary, have always represented, and still represent, one harmfulness of power and its incompatibility with human proof the principal causes of the social calamities of mankind. Therefore power, which formerly elicited in the people enthusiasm gress as a means for its abolition they nevertheless regard as and devotion, at present-amongst the greater and best portion possible, and even as necessary, a revolution, for which revolution of mankind-calls forth not only indifference, but often contempt they recommend men to prepare. The second question they and hatred. This more enlightened section of mankind now answer by the assertion that as soon as State organization and understands that all that pompous show with which power property will be abolished men will naturally combine in rational, surrounds itself is naught else than the red shirt and velvet free, and advantageous conditions of life.

the first question by saying that for the abolition of power the